12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

regularly espoused; and at my request, Mulkaamair sent for her again.

My chief gave us a habitation near his own. Here I brought all I had, and gave her equal possessions with myself. We lived here together, for some time, in much comfort. I daily advanced in the knowledge of the language, and such prospects of success now opened upon me, that I determined to finish my days in Tongataboo.

Ambition of distinction and the desire of wealth now began to excite me to exertion. I employed my thoughts in devising plans to provide a comfortable settlement in the Island, and became very desirous of a portion of land to myself, that by my own industry, I might render myself independent. At this time a neighbouring chief wished to dispose of a tract of land; my chief, Mulkaamair, purchased the estate for me, with a spade, an ax, a small native canoe, and a couple of knives. This was the whole price given for the purchase of the abbee, or farm of Omataanee. It contained about fifteen acres, and was separated from the estate of Mulkaamair by a lagoon or arm of the sea, a quarter of a mile across. This I crossed the next day, to enjoy the new delight, never before experienced, of viewing an estate of my own. With what joy did I contemplate its little pendent groves of cocoa and plantain trees, and its smooth lawns, diversified by little habitations, which contained the peaceful

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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A group of say, sixteen women will make anything up to three hundred fathoms of bark cloth in one day's work. The length prepared is divided among all the women who shared in the work. Each household tries to keep from one to three hundred fathoms of cloth always on hand. This supply should last the household from one to four years, depending upon the size of the household, the number of gift occasions in which it participates, and the incidence of *tapu* mourning-occasions.

The stencilling of prepared barkcloth is a laborious job. There are relatively few stencils to be found in Pangai today. In terms of money-value, a new stencil costs from three to five pounds to make, depending upon the intricacy of the required design. Stencils are often borrowed. With their return to the owner would go a gift of from twenty to fifty fathoms of bark cloth according to the acknowledged value of the stencil. Stencils newly made today show a wide variety of designs and motifs. Besides the more orthodox flower and geometrical designs, stencils may include motifs which range from imaginative conceptions of the Tongan flag to the names of the main streets in Nukualofa. Many women in Pangai today are not bothering with stencils. They are decorating their bark cloth with freehand finger-painted designs. The orthodox Tongan dyes for bark cloth give two colours only: black and a reddish-brown. Today some women find commercial dyes bought at the store less troublesome and more pleasing to use. To the European eye these store-colours are often garish and crude as compared with the softness of the native dyes.

MAT-MAKING

The mats made by the Pangai women range from rough floor mats to the finer sleeping mats and, finest of all, the mats which function as skirts *(vala)*[10] to be worn on occasions

[10] The *vala* which for shortness' sake we translate as "skirt" (though the word skirt is likely to call up quite the wrong semantic association), consists of a rectangular piece of bark cloth or cotton piece-goods or a fine mat. It is worn wrapped round the waist, hanging from waist to ankles or just above them. For ordinary wear men fasten the *vala* at the waist with a leather belt; for ceremonial wear, with a sennit belt. Men wear the *vala* for everyday use. Men and women alike wear the ceremonial mat-*vala* on all occasions when respect and humility require symbolization.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
439 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia proposed to remove this house from its present site and
(435) erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible. He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
439 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale. They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food. By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is largely raised through gardening and does not involve the expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast, however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
(432) economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
511 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
592 is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £146! Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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584 178 not interested in letting her marry the first man who chances to come along. The marriage itself, therefore, is decided upon, not by the young people, but by the older men of the two households. The two young people are sufficiently concerned with older Tongan ways not to cut an apparent knot by elopement and thus to anger their elders.

MARRIAGE

583 585 [588] From our household-census it is possible to present a rough statistical picture of the marital status of all the adults in the village. There are thirty-nine couples living together as man and wife. Of this number, thirty-five couples are married. The marriage ceremonies of these thirty-five couples are of two types. Civil- and church-registrations account for nineteen couples, civil- and church-registrations plus old-time Tongan-style celebrations of the marriage, account for the remaining sixteen couples. Of these thirty-five marriages, twenty-three are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twelve marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriage in this category and the number of each are: Single man with divorcée, two; divorcé with single woman, five; widower with single woman, three; widower with widow, two. Of these twelve marriages, therefore, ten are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. [586] [587] It is thus clear that a previous marriage terminated by death or divorce is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

586 [435] The cost of a divorce in Tonga is ten pounds per mate, or twenty pounds per divorce. This sum represents the amount that it would take an average householder almost two years to earn by cutting copra on his plantation. It is 586 588 only to be expected therefore, that many unhappy Tongan marriages end not by divorce but by an informal separation which allows the mates to set up unblessed unions with others 588 in like circumstances. If these unions become permanent, the mates are tacitly assumed by the villagers to be as-if married, the children as-if legitimate. The village attitude is more one of pity for misfortune than anything else. There is never any comment, scandal, or gossip about such unions.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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585 This may be best emphasized by outlining the formal [128] marriage ceremony and then giving a short case-study to show the limit of variations on the pattern.

585 In any formal marriage, much preparation is concerned 583 with the collection of the necessary gifts, transfer of which 431 in the old days constituted the validation of the marriage relationship and which today are still necessary if the marriage is performed according to rule. These gifts are collected together by the father of the groom. They consist of a ceremonial skirt *(vala to'onga)*, six or more specially-made sleeping mats, quantities of bark cloth and clothing. The mats have taken years to make. They have been specially made for some future marriage and have been carefully stored away until needed. Relatives may be asked to contribute further fine mats, in which case they are later repaid with return-gifts of mats. The gifts are all brought together in the house of the groom's father and the bride and her relatives are invited to inspect the display. The groom's father must also bring together great quantities of food, pigs, and *kava*. This preliminary collection may well take a week or more to complete.

585 When all is ready, the groom's sisters escort the bride to the groom's father's house. There the groom's mother [292] dresses the bride in a *vala* which consists of a four-fathom length of bark cloth. The bride returns to her own house, bathes and dries her body with the bark cloth *vala*. She again returns to the groom's father's house where the father has prepared a small feast. She is accompanied this time by her mother and her mother's sisters. All eat. Then the bride and groom together with a party of relatives go to Neiafu to secure the civil marriage-license. They return to [793] Pangai, eat more food, and proceed to the church where [435] the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. The marriage license costs eight shillings, the marriage ceremony whatever the groom can afford to give the pastor—ten shillings would be a more than adequate gift from the ordinary family. After this the groom goes to his father's [292] house, the bride to her father's house where she dresses in the ceremonial *vala* provided by the groom's father.

All meet again at the groom's father's house where the gifts of mats and bark cloth have been piled high outside

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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the family always defers to Tui and consults him in preference to his older brother although the latter is theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother), Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife) to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called *kie*. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite. In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to the church where the religious ceremony was performed. Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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TABLE 13.—FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE OF INDIVIDUALS.

Number of Attendances of each person	32	14	13	11	10	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Total	Per cent. village men or women
Men	1	2	1	2	3	3	7	2	3	5	6	10	11	56	81.1
Women	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	13	19	32.6

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This table again suggests that apart from the village addict, the large majority of men are very moderate in their attendance at parties. Similarly, most women attended only one party during the time records were taken. This voluntary attendance of women is of course to be distinguished from the occasions at which women or girls were present because they were required to make the *kava*. About eighty per cent. of the men of the village and some thirty-two per cent. of all the women of the village attended these *kava* parties. Of the forty-six parties held during this period, women made the *kava* thirty-seven times, men nine times. Of the female *kava*-makers, two girls made *kava* seven times each, the remaining twelve women and girls making *kava* either once or twice each. Young men made the *kava* only when it was impossible to find an available girl: the girls were busy cooking or working or sleeping, or the men were too lazy to look for a girl to make the *kava* for them.

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The figures given in this section do not claim any literal or final accuracy. It is sufficient if they indicate incidence and trends and suggest the large part that *kava*-drinking plays in village life. They can well form the structural background for the following discussion of the interrelations of *kava*-drinking and the social life of the village.

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(432)
(435)

The *kava*-plant is easy to plant, easy to grow, but slow to mature. Few men bother to plant, preferring to buy the prepared root when needed from the store at a price of sixpence per pound. The men who do plant, perhaps half a dozen in the village all told, plant once in two or three years, twenty to fifty cuttings for each planting. March is the best month and the best location is a wet, shady place. The roots are ready to dig up in two to three years. They are scraped clean of bark and dirt, dried in the sun for several days and then stored among the rafters of the house. For ordinary use, a large root is broken into small pieces. For a special gift-occasion or when honouring some visitor, the whole root with long stalk attached is given. The root is laid on a

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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

XV.

INCUBATION.

651 In February our prospects began to look brighter. The copra contract was at an end, and we were free to accept coin for taxes. In order to show defaulters that we were 651 687 in earnest, we directed the police to sue those of two or three villages, and to follow the judgments with execution so closely that they should not have time to transfer their chattels to a neighbour and usher the bailiff into a house swept of its contents, as was the usual custom. After patrolling the town for half an hour with a hand-bell to attract buyers, the police swooped down upon the doomed house, planted the Tongan ensign before the door, and seized all the portable property in it. Then the [435] *fakatauluki* (sale by the hammer) began. The mats, pots, and *gnatu* were knocked down without much attempt being made to obtain the highest available price, and then as many of the horses, fowls, and pigs as could be caught were sold at an average price—for the horses and poultry at eightcenpence each, and for the pigs at fifteen [435] or twenty times that amount. There are recorded cases of horses being disposed of at these sales for threepence.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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is a female bull (*koe bulu fefine*). D'Entrecasteaux, who visited Tonga fourteen years after Cook, found that the existence of the cattle left by that navigator was so far forgotten that the natives did not know which island they were on, if indeed they were alive at all. They were then spoken of as *puaka tute* (Cook's pigs). Cook himself records the fact that the new animals excited but little interest. This indifference still survives in the unwillingness of the people to keep cattle, in spite of the excellent pasture in the island and the large profits to be made from the sale of milk. Almost every Tongan owns a horse; scarcely half a dozen keep cows. A cow cannot be ridden, and it must be watered and milked with absolute regularity or it will run dry; and of all the products of civilisation, regular routine is the most hateful to the Polynesian.

I have spoken elsewhere of horses. The ancestors of the present breed were brought from New Zealand some forty years ago, but through promiscuous breeding they have dwindled to the size of the American mustang,—hard wiry ponies, without either mouth or paces, full of tricks and ill-temper, but capable of covering immense distances without fatigue. They vary in price from a few shillings to £7 or £8. The Government might easily have improved the breed by making gelding compulsory, or by enforcing the horse-tax; as it is, the country is overrun with wretched beasts, covered with sores, whose only use is to keep the grass short. I remember one of the police magistrates applying to the Government for an impounded horse,—"not that I may ride it, but because I am old, and there is no one to weed my enclosure."

tic cultivation and the adoption of proper curing methods could lead to a more plentiful and superior supply of tobacco, and might even give the country a new export. Export markets might also be found for corn, hemp, ginger, chillies, candlenuts and kava.

One or two secondary industries might also be developed. If cotton proved a practical crop, a cottage weaving industry would be a distinct possibility. Silk might be developed in the same way, since mulberries flourish in Tonga. Sugar cane flourishes too, yet no attempt has been made to extract sugar, which is imported from Fiji. A small industry could provide all the sugar the country needs, and the buffalo mills employed in North Borneo might prove suitable for this purpose. The Tongans take great pride in personal cleanliness, but cannot afford to buy much soap. There is always plenty of copra: a livestock industry would ensure ample tallow, and the country would both increase soap consumption and save foreign exchange by setting up a small soap factory.

Mr. Cottrell-Dormer made a rough estimate of the cost of his complete scheme over the ten years he considered necessary to establish it firmly. His figure was £100,000, or less than half the amount of the Kingdom's foreign investments. So far the War and other difficulties have prevented much being done to realise its very attractive possibilities. There have been recent attempts to reform agricultural education, but apart from them the only important step has been the Agricultural Organisation Act of 1940.[5]

The Director's scheme shows that much can be done to improve Tonga's farming, its export trade and its standard of living. The Agricultural Organisation Act, even if it is still in the initial and tentative stage of administration, shows that the government is conscious of the need for such improvement, and is prepared to do something about it. The institutions already set up have made a good start and

[5]This Act sought to encourage planting, to promote co-operative effort, and to control the marketing of export products. Local Producers' Associations are to be set up, under the leadership of the town officers, with the general object of improving farming, and for such specific purposes as the acquisition and operation of hot-air driers. At the same time four export boards have been established. The Banana Board has already achieved an improvement in the quality of banana exports by making inspections more thorough, and by insisting upon the use of knives for harvesting. It has also encouraged the use of locally made cases. The Copra Board is now the sole purchaser of copra and has already secured improved export quality by introducing differential prices according to grade, and by refusing to purchase green copra. These authorities are all subject to a Council of Agriculture which co-ordinates their functions, and which gives them financial aid from an Agricultural and Industrial Development Fund, established by a government loan of £1,000. The Council also acts as an advisory body to the Minister of Agriculture.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 can develop into important agencies for the country's economic
185 development.

241 Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European
423 planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the
[185] studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the develop-
ment of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native
[563] proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans
are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly
all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for
agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred
[563] acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350
Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

Tongan Trade

438 Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a
438 land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such
437 local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats
and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis
437 of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than
436 to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase
a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary
[439] transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9
[651] in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.*

439 Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard
of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials
—copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods
which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits,
[511] automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

439 *Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

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Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137,365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	79,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

into Tongan consumption is shown by the following list of per capita expenditures in 1938: Biscuits 11d; Butter 8d; Drapery 6s. 4d; Flour 4s. 9d; Tinned meat 4s. 7d; Soap 1s. 3d; Sugar 1s. 9d; Kerosene 1s. 0d. (est.). A typical household probably spends about £6 a year on store goods, but it should not be thought that this modest outlay reflects satisfaction with the Tongan standard of living. The people are eager to buy imported commodities, particularly drapery, tinned meat and kerosene, but are severely restricted in their purchases by low cash incomes. Imports always respond closely to exports, and exports depend overwhelmingly on the price of copra.

Copra has always been by far the most important export, and during the last twenty years it has been Tonga's misfortune that copra prices have fluctuated about a steeply declining trend. In the decade after 1924 they fell from £20·5 a ton to £5·9, recovered to £13·1 in 1937, but fell again to £6 in 1941. As a result export income shrank from about £270,000 a year in the early 'twenties to £104,000 in the late 'thirties. The Kingdom's dependence upon this erratic and precarious source of income has been relieved by a growing export trade in bananas which began in 1932 when the New Zealand government allotted banana quotas to the various island groups, and gave Tonga 20 per cent of the Fiji quota. In 1938 shipments amounted to 11,000 cases for a return of £35,000. Since then the quotas have been lifted and the New Zealand f.o.b. price raised from 7s. to 9s. a case, with the result that Tonga exported £36,000 of bananas in 1942. Bananas now account for a quarter of Tonga's exports, and it is to be hoped that this valuable and stabilising addition to export income can be retained. It will be if Tonga is allowed to keep its present share of the New Zealand market.

Direction of Tongan Trade

The Director of Agriculture has tried to diversify exports further by developing a trade in peanuts and tapa cloth. After testing various seeds he succeeded in establishing a small production of peanuts and in disposing of them in New Zealand. Twelve tons were shipped in 1942 at the satisfactory price of £30 a ton. A strong local demand developed, however, with the arrival of Allied troops and killed this promising export trade. A market was found for tapa cloth in Britain which took forty-four tons in 1941 at a price of £20 a ton, but exports ceased when the spread of the War to the Pacific created insuperable

next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

£15—having a thatched roof, reed walls, and an earthen floor. Their construction ensures dirt, dust and damp. Health would certainly improve, along with comfort, if they were required to have wooden floors and more satisfactory roofing.

Tonga has long had a system of free medical benefits. These are provided by the Medical Department which has a hospital of fifty beds at Nukualofa, one of twelve beds at Ha'apai, and one of twenty beds at Vavau, all of them equipped with operating theatres. In addition there are dispensaries in both the Nuias and also in Eua. A European doctor is head of the Department, and a European matron runs the Nukualofa hospital, but the rest of the staff is entirely Tongan, comprising thirteen medical practitioners, ten nurses, four dressers, and two dispensers. Their work comes up to a high standard, and they are more suitable for dealing with their own people than Europeans are. There is a high turnover of nurses through marriage, but not a wastage, since ex-nurses play a very valuable role in their villages as voluntary medical workers and educators. Such education is needed because the Tongans are not only inclined to be careless about their ailments but also to be suspicious of western medicine.

Tonga's Attainments and Prospects

This sketch of modern Tonga describes how a small oceanic peasantry has made a way of life which is suitable to the dignity of free men, in harmony with the requirements of economic justice and full of promise for the future. The Tongans are unique and significant in being the only independent people of the Pacific; subject, it is true, to the control of the British Colonial Office in foreign affairs and to its supervision over public finance, but in all other respects free from the domination of a master race and secure in the possession of their national heritage. Continuity has been preserved with traditional institutions, and modern impacts have liberalised rather than destroyed them. This liberalisation is far from finished and may well lead to the development of a mature Polynesian democracy.

Tonga provides its people with a modest, but adequate and secure income; modest because its cash value probably does not exceed £50 a year, adequate because it provides them with enough food, clothing and housing to keep them well and happy, and secure because it is largely independent of economic fluctuations. The Kingdom is far

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

249 inducement to cultivate the *To* to any great extent. When they have attained this knowledge, they will readily find an open market in the Australasian Colonies for all that they can produce; and thus another source of national prosperity will be opened up which at present lies undeveloped.

245 [137] [643] The coffee plant was introduced only a few years since, (1852,) and has succeeded well. The plant grows rapidly, and bears profusely. The beans are large, and of good quality. King George himself has devoted considerable attention to its cultivation, and, in due time, it also will become a valuable addition to the exports of the land.

245 435 177 The natives, we may here remark, do not fail to magnify, in an extraordinary manner, the value of anything new that may be recommended for cultivation, either by Missionaries or other foreigners. They seem to fancy that whatever the white man likes, and pays attention to, must be "*koloa lahi*," great riches. Even coffee beans have awakened mysterious notions of value, in some native minds, as the following incident will show. A woman

245 435 439 [505] belonging to the island of Haano, in Haabai, came from thence to Lifuka, a distance by sea of about twenty miles, in a small canoe, for the sole purpose of bartering at our Mission station, what she thought was a very valuable thing. Presenting herself before us, she took from her bosom a small piece of white native cloth carefully tied up and tightly knotted. Thinking, from the appearance of the package, and the manner of the woman, that she had brought some pearls for sale, we desired her to show them. With due deliberation, the package was unfolded, when, behold, it displayed just half-a-dozen coffee-beans! It would

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

be impossible to depict the air of utter disappointment, mingled with lingering incredulity, which the woman's face betrayed, when a large canister of coffee-beans was placed before her, accompanied by an explanation of their true value. Upon inquiry, we leant that she, and her wise lord at home, having heard of the new and valuable plant, secretly obtained one, and after tending it carefully, they thought to make a good thing of it, by taking its first fruits for sale to the Missionary. Considering the poor woman's ignorance, as well as her simplicity, and also the blank disappointment that met her, after such a long journey, we gave her a small present, as an encouragement to further cultivation of the plant, but sent her home with wonderfully altered ideas respecting the costliness of the coffee-bean.

The yam, or native *ufi*, (*Dioscorea alata*,) includes a great variety of this most valuable of all the edible roots of the tropics. It is the chief article of vegetable diet raised by the Tonguese; and, probably, it is cultivated in no other region to such high perfection or in such quantity.

The Tonguese do not believe at all in the Fijian practice of putting yam settings into hard and unprepared soil; nor, indeed, are the Fijians themselves uniform in their mode of cultivating the root. The plan adopted in Tonga involves great care and labour, but is rewarded by large crops of the most valuable esculent root to be found in the world.

After the surface of the ground has been thoroughly cleared of bush and weeds, the first part of the operation is that of digging the yam-pits, or *bukes*. These are dug of a diameter

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

(iii) Females living within the household may have *api* of their own which they have inherited themselves, e.g. a wife's mother. 592 423

(iv) Sometimes there is a time lag between the death of one holder and the accession of another.

(v) There do occur little connivances in these matters, especially where the person concerned is either related to or on specially good terms with the nobility.

This explains the case of households which have more than one *api*. But there are 27 households which have no *api*. One of these is where an old woman is living by herself without an *api* but the rest are cases where men are heads of households without *api*. Of these 26, 20 are men from another village or locality, and only 6 are men from this village. Of these 6, 2 have *api* in another village, and 3 others have just recently set up household on their own while still working land held by their fathers or elder brothers.[33]

Of the 20 men who come from another village, two have *api* in their own villages, two others are using *api* belonging to others, and 16 are sharing the use of the *api* of their friends and relatives in the village.[34]

Of the 27 households which have no *api* of their own in the village, 4 have *api* in another village, 4 others are using *api* the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the *api* of others. Of these 19, 13 share the *api* of one other household, 4 those of two others, 1 those of three others and 1 those of four other households.

By making these kinds of arrangements, the villagers are able to cope with circumstances not contemplated within the legal framework, though not strictly by illegal manipulation. The system, therefore, has some overall flexibility, the source of which is, of course, little more than the willingness of the people to share the *api* under their legal control with those people who have none.

Finally, something may be said about the relation of the distribution of land under this system to the distribution of money income in the village. Under the conditions of my field work this was a difficult question to investigate as I was not in the field long enough to introduce and discuss topics of this kind. But a small number of observations may be made. The main sources of money income from the land are copra and bananas, and a considerable amount is also earned from the sale of vegetables and garden produce. The price of bananas is about 10/- per case and there are two shipments each month; thus B's and C's statements at pp. 102-3 provide some basis for calculating the amount that an individual may earn by the sale of bananas. On the sale of garden produce I have no figures; but from the records kept at the offices of the Copra Board in Nuku'alofa I was able to obtain some figures relating to copra production. From a list of 80 odd names of persons from the area of this village kept by the Board, I was able to recognise 25 as the names of heads of households which appear in my notes. The 423 434 [119] [435]

[33] The arrangement is a temporary expedient until *api* of their own are found.

[34] See secton on Land Use, p. 107.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

The Board's records showed the total amount of copra sold to it by these persons during the year 1957; and from these figures, taking the price of copra as £40 per ton,[25] a rough estimate can be made of how much money the sellers received. These figures, together with those obtained from my data on the distribution of both land and adult male labour among the households concerned, are presented in the following table:

TABLE 2A

DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY INCOME FROM SALE OF COPRA[26]

Household	No. of Adult Males in Household	No. of *Api* in Household	Amount of Copra Produced (tons)	Income from Copra (£)
1	1	0	.14	5.6
2	1	1	1.75	70.0
3	1	1	1.65	66.0
4	1	1	1.65	66.0
5	1	1	.18	7.2
6	2	2	2.15	86.0
7	1	1	1.80	72.0
8	1	1	.19	7.6
9	1	3	.36	14.4
10	1	1	1.65	66.0
11	1	1	.24	9.6
12	2	1	1.38	55.2
13	2	2	3.35	134.0
14	1	1	2.49	99.6
15	2	1	1.78	71.2
16	2	1	5.99	239.6
17	2	2	1.79	71.6
18	1	1	1.00	40.0
19	3	3	3.99	159.6
20	1	1	1.72	68.8
21	1	2	1.67	66.8
22	1	1	1.63	65.2
23	2	1	.90	36.0
24	2	1	1.38	55.2
25	1	2	.92	36.8

The same data may be presented in summary form to show the covariation between amount of labour, amount of land, and income more simply:

TABLE 2B

No. of Adult Males per Household	No. of Households	Total No. of *Api*	Average *Api* per Household	Total Income (£)	Average Income per Household (£)
1	16	19	1.2	761.6	41.35
2	8	11	1.4	748.8	93.6
3	1	3	3.0	159.6	159.6

[25] The price during 1957 was in the region of £43, but just before I left Tonga the new price of £38/15/0 per ton of first grade copra had been announced by the Board, which buys all the copra produced in Tonga. The round figure of £40 is taken for convenience.

[26] Interesting comparison may be made with the figures in Beaglehole 1941:60ff.

181 herself. With faith in her identity, she has
178 consistently remained determined to maintain the freedom to run her own affairs. She has, in effect, held the reins for designing and controlling her own future.

Yet, today's world presents threats which differ greatly from the threats which have prevailed throughout history – threats which Tonga has successfully withstood. A country's integrity is her stronghold, and it is Tonga's integrity which is being challenged by the diverse forces of a world where material progress, technological know-how, wealth and power hold prominence over human values.

The mushrooming in Tonga of phenomena such

[p. 53-C]

[457]
[435]
[369]
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 54B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

as tourism, foreign economic interest, prices of consumer goods, pressures to work and study abroad, and the rural-urban drift which is creating grave unemployment and population problems on Tongatapu, intensifies the dilemma of *how to improve the quality of life while preventing cultural and social deterioration.*

Although Tonga's economy is based primarily on agriculture (main exports: copra, bananas, desiccated coconuts), Tonga is slowly moving away from being a society of substantially subsistence farming. Tourism, which is rapidly becoming a major consumer industry, is being encouraged by the government as a source of employment and

[p. 54-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Coconuts are one of the most intrinsic elements of life in Tonga, for they have countless domestic and commercial uses. The manufacture of copra (dried meat of the coconut) is Tonga's most valuable industry. *Above:* Husking a coconut at the Tonga Copra Board in Haveluloto, Tongatapu. In early 1974, farmers were receiving 2½ Tongan cents for each nut sold to the Copra Board, a government agency which does bulk marketing and shipping of copra. *Opposite, bottom:* Split coconuts drying in the sun to be sold for making copra, Tonga's main export.

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Ko e halanga pe'anga mahu'inga mo'oni e ngaahi niu 'i Tonga. Ko e ngaahi ta eni 'o hono hoka 'o e niu, fale 'ofisi 'o e Poate Mataka, pea mo hono tauaki 'o e niu.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by the Copra Board.
3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands. They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.
4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventually provide, which obviates the need for individual action.
5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.[34] And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupance of the smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

[34] Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Otherwise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations. There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom likewise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her

brother.

262 meal might be locally-caught fish or shellfish or canned
264 fish (imported), canned meat (usually corned beef), frozen mutton (imported from New Zealand), or some pork or chicken left over from a feast (for Tongans do not slaughter their livestock to provide mere daily fare).

262 On more remote islands, people have to rely mainly on fresh fish, which they catch themselves. On Tongatapu, however, most kiki is purchased, and a little kiki goes
[435] a long way. A string of ten small fish, weighing about three pounds in all, costs 50 cents; two pounds of cartilaginous breast of mutton costs about 36 cents (these are 1969-70 prices). Each of these amounts is sufficient for kiki for a household of six or seven people. Other everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, hardtack biscuits, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and
[511] sweetened and dried condensed milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

592 A household must also have labor available to produce,
511 prepare, and make use of these products, hence the need for 'human capital'. This requirement is particularly evident in the composition of one of the households in Motulahi, where an elderly couple and their fourteen-year-old
[599] granddaughter comprised the household. I was told that the girl had been adopted by them "ke tauhi kinaua--to

175 [476 cont.]
433 The labour of the natives is therefore greater than that of the Taheitians, and
311 accounts for the regularity of the plantations, and the accurate
171
423 division of property. It is likewise to this source we must ascribe
175 it, that they have always set a higher value on their provisions
435 than on their tools, dresses, ornaments, and weapons, though
many of these must have cost them infinite time and application.
They very justly conceive the articles of food to be their principal
175 riches, of which the loss is absolutely not to be remedied. If we
142 observed their bodies more slender and their muscles harder than
461 those of the Taheitians, this seems to be the consequence of a
175 greater and more constant exertion of strength. Thus, perhaps, they
461 become industrious by force of habit, and when agriculture does not
433 occupy them, they are actuated to employ their vacant hours in the
fabrick of that variety of tools and instruments on which they
175 bestow so much time, patience, labour, and ingenuity. This industrious
181 turn has also led them, in the cultivation of all their arts, to so
[171] much greater perfection than the [477] Taheitians. By degrees they
have hit upon new inventions, and introduced an active spirit and
175 enlivening chearfulness even into their amusements. Their happiness
181 of temper they preserve under a political constitution, which does
642 not appear to be very favourable to liberty; but we need not go so
far from home to wonder at such a phaenomenon, when one of the most
enslaved people in all Europe, are characterised as the merriest
[651] and most facetious of mankind. Still there may be more sincerity
in the chearfulness of the natives of Tonga-Tabboo; for, exclusive
of great and almost servile submission, their king does not seem
to exact any thing from them, which by depriving them of the means

TABLE 1

Tongan Exports 1969*

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Item	Value	Percent
Bananas	$T 684.00	20.1
Copra	2,104.00	61.9
Coconuts	15.00	.4
Desiccated Coconut--Bulk	294.00	8.6
Desiccated Coconut--Prepacked	16.00	.5
Curies and Handicrafts	32.00	.9
Fruit	8.00	.2
Fungus	18.00	.5
Ground Food	17.00	.5
Vegetables	70.00	2.1
Vanilla	7.00	.2
Watermelons	35.00	1.0
Other	99.00	3.1
Total	$T3,399.00	100.0

* Adapted from Table A.5 in An Economic Survey of Tonga 1970.

TABLE 2

Tongan Imports 1969*

439
433
435

Items		Value	Percent
Flour	$T	379,000	7.4
Fish, Preserved		95,000	1.9
Meat, Preserved		180,000	3.5
Meat, Frozen		256,000	5.0
Sugar		135,000	2.7
Relief Foodstuffs (American)		41,000	.8
Beer, Ale, Stout, Wines and Spirits		110,000	2.2
Cigarettes, Cigarette Papers and Manufactured Tobacco		227,000	4.5
Soap		83,000	1.6
Drapery and all Textiles		396,000	7.8
Footwear		47,000	.9
Cement		113,000	2.2
Hardware		166,000	3.3
Galvanized Roofing and Galvanized Flat Iron		79,000	1.6
Iron and Steel Bars, Roods and Sheets		43,000	.8
Paint, Putty and Varnish		47,000	.9
Water Pipes		34,000	.7
Plywood and Wallboard		46,000	.9
Timber		182,000	3.8
Wire and Wirenetting		34,000	.7

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Tongan Imports 1969

Item	Value	Percent
Motor Fuels and Lubricants	$T 134,000	2.6
Motor Vehicles and Parts	301,000	5.9
Machinery and Parts	105,000	2.1
Electrical Machinery	85,000	1.8
Boats and Launches	14,000	.3
Agricultural Machinery	38,000	.7
Agricultural Insecticides	20,000	.4
Fertilizer	26,000	.5
Animal Stock Feeds	35,000	.7
Shooks for Export	23,000	.5
Other	1,614,000	31.3
Total	$T5,088,000	100.0

* Adapted from Tables A.8 and A.9 in An Economic Survey of Tonga 1970.

262 554 cassava from his garden to feed his family is criticized for being a lazy man. Boiled green banana are usually thought of as the last resort for a meal.

262 Pigs are the most prestigious food and discussions about the quality and quantity of feasts are carried on in terms of the number and

262 231 size of pigs consumed at the feast. Pigs are grouped into five categories according to "size", which is actually determined by height. Below I have listed the categories from largest to smallest and included the approximate price range of each type to indicate value. Any pig with tusks protruding from the lips is placed in the highest category regardless of its size.

[435]

1.	puaka toho	$T60.00 - $T100.00
2.	puaka hula	40.00 - 60.00
3.	puaka hahamo	20.00 - 40.00
4.	puaka fakahungo	10.00 - 20.00
5.	umu kaveitau	5.00 - 10.00

262 252 The major cuts of a pig in order of preference and associated prestige are (1) fakala'a, (2) huohua, (3) fuefue, (4) keumu'i, and keumu'a (Figure 3). Skin of the back, cooked to a deep brown, and liberally coated with salt is the favorite of nearly all Tongans. For feast occasions pigs are usually cooked whole in an earth oven or spitted and roasted over coals.

231 Pigs are the best cared for of all domestic animals. They are sometimes penned or picketed and usually fed daily with the skin of yams, taro, sweet potatoes, vines from yam and sweet potato plants, and coconut meat.

423 allotments, some households and many individuals have only
425 temporary tenure. They are generally younger brothers who were not legal heirs or are immigrants from other islands or districts. The ability of an individual or household to obtain temporary occupancy seems to be, to a great extent, contingent on fulfillment of social obligations.

423 Finally, it is not uncommon to find landholders rent-
425 ing their land to others, although strictly forbidden under
427 law. An increasingly common practice seems to be rental to
[241] farmers who want additional acreage for commercial crops, such as bananas, watermelons, and garden vegetables, or for
[435] yams to be sold locally. The rental fee for an eight and a quarter allotment ranges from as low as five to over a hundred dollars per year or a percentage of the profits. The period of rental usually runs from one to five years. It depends on the individual agreement whether the tenant has usufruct rights to coconuts planted on the allotment. Many Tongans who are willing to rent all or part of their allotments are wage earners rather than full-time farmers.

423 Tables 14 and 15 show the nature of tenure to bush and town allotments for the sample households on Tongatapu.
[369] The highest percentage of registered allotments are in the
[161] urban area of Nuku'alofa(Kolomotu'a, Kolofo'ou and Ma'ufanga) and Kolovai, both areas with high population densities and smaller parcels of land. Similarly, in Kolonga, one of the first areas to be resurveyed according to the Cadastral

439 Table 25. Bulk desiccated coconut production and exports
245 1963-1970.
433

Year	Production (Tons)	Exports (Tons)	Total F.O.B. Value $T1000
1963	402	402	91
1964	766	743	171
1965	933	884	245
1966	1036	922	259
1967	1099	1235	319
1968	1191	1059	379
1969	1283	1076	294
1970	1345	1538	459

Sources: Tonga Copra Board Records

245 Production of coconut oil was also attempted and proved unsuccessful.

Such attempts to expand coconut related industries
245 encountered major obstacles. Increased copra production,
435 for example, is discouraged by the instability of copra prices. The monthly price structure in Tonga is based on the average of Philippines' quotations made by the Spot Fixing Committee of the London Copra Association. Tonga has virtually no control over the price structure, which over the years has been very unstable. For example in December

1971 prices paid to Tongan farmers for first grade copra were T$70 per ton compared to $T115 in January 1971 (Tonga Copra Board Records). Similar difficulties are also experienced by farmers selling whole coconuts to the Copra Board. From March to May 1971, the Copra Board paid growers three cents per whole coconut. From June to December, the price was only 1.2 cents per nut (Tonga Copra Board Records). The factors responsible for these prices are not understood by the average Tongan grower and often attributed to poor management by the Copra Board. Internal problems within the Board and financial losses of a construction company established by the Board have helped destroy much of the confidence that growers had in the Board.

As a result of these economic factors in combination with problems with pests and disease, there was in 1971 little interest in improvement and expansion of coconut cultivation. The palms are generally neglected, with weeds and brush around the bases; traditional burning practices harm the bases of the trees; crops are planted too close to the trees; and a large proportion of the trees are declining in yield owing to senility (Liyanage, 1971: personal communication). In order to revitalize the coconut industry, a Coconut Replanting Scheme was established in 1966 and a Coconut Subsidy Scheme was begun in 1967.

The Coconut Replanting Scheme (C.R.S.), which was made possible through a grant from the British Ministry of

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[438] potato (Ipomoea batatas). These crops, all of which were infrequently cultivated before the turn of the century, now have become the most common items sold at Talamahu Market, and manioc and American taro were the two most widely cultivated crops in terms of acreage.

241
178 Increased Cash Cropping

There will probably be a continued expansion of cash cropping to supply both overseas markets and the expanding [242] urban population on Tongatapu. The major focus of government extension work is the expansion of commercial cultivation of bananas, coconuts, and a variety of other established crops such as watermelon, pineapple, garden vegetables, and root crops; and experimental crops such as [435] macadamia nuts, onions, strawberries, and garlic. The rising prices of products at Talamahu market is also a major incentive for an increase in commercial production of both traditional and recently introduced crops.

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000 Increased Cultivation of Crops Used for Handicrafts

With the rapid expansion of tourism throughout the Pacific, there is a great demand for the high quality Tongan handicrafts both in Tonga and overseas. Consequently, there could be a considerable expansion in the cultivation of plants such as paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera), pandanus (Pandanus spp.), Job's tears (Coix lachryma-jobi), and bamboo (Bambusa sp.).

245 654 435 **Increased Coconut Acreage**

Owing to the continued efforts of the Coconut Replanting Scheme and the high copra prices in 1974, there should be a major increase in the acreage of systematically planted coconut palms in the next five or ten years.

231 654 **Possible Expansion of Livestock Husbandry**

Because of government livestock subsidy schemes, there is likely to be an expansion of livestock husbandry and pasture improvement. The expansion of pig and poultry husbandry seem to offer the best prospects because of the limited land area and water resources on Tongatapu. Accordingly, Hardaker (1971:70) discouraged a widespread expansion of cattle ownership.

311 312 000

134 241 178 **Declining Soil Fertility**

Owing to the increasing cropping period and associated decrease in the fallow period, the inherent soil nutrient status and structure of Tongatapu soils have deteriorated considerably. In almost all cases, today's farmers feel that farmers of previous generations received much higher yields due to more fertile soils. The relative amounts of nutrients stored in fallow vegetation depend on the extent to which trees and shrubs have been destroyed, because grasses and herbs store relatively smaller quantities of nutrients. As a result, there is less addition of humus and nutrients to the soil both through litter and root production and through burning. Furthermore, the

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89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December 1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions, with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Salote College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church, but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

* * * *

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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With increased tourist growth, Tongans are in direct competition with the tourists for space and for imported foodstuffs. Unless a tourist lives with a Tongan family, and very few do, the main tourist diet consists of fruits and breads from Tonga and imported foodstuffs. This importation of foodstuffs—much of it because of its relation to tourism—is also reflected in the Tongan economy by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI, heavily biased towards food items, was established in 1969 with a base of 100.0. In six years, the CPI has reached the astronomical figure of 172.4 (Figure 2).

Ever-increasing amounts of food must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists who compete with Tongans for certain goods. Despite this, tourist growth is encouraged. The impact on the "average" Tongan is startling, especially when he sees the price of food double in a single year at the local market. The impact on children is considerable. The Tongan Ministry of Health has pointed out that "protein-calorie malnutrition" is prevalent among many young Tongan children to a disturbing degree.[6]

Although the inflationary spiral in Tonga in the last few years, as evidenced by increased consumer prices, is obviously related to the generalized worldwide

[p. 89-B]

[For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

457 pattern I believe that some of the problems are due to
458 increased tourist growth. Tongans must first stabilize
435 their basic economy before designs should be made for increased tourist growth.

A CLOSER LOOK AT TOURISM

121 Borrowing some ideas from the late distinguished scholar, Jacob Bronowski, and the Australian academician, Derek Freeman, I should like to suggest that we need to look at the Pacific (and the people of Tonga) in terms of an "evolutionary model" of development. As Freeman has aptly stated it, "In recent years, evolutionary theory has emerged saliently as the unifying paradigm of all the biological sciences, from biochemistry to ecology."[7A] Evolution may be seen in the
[182] twentieth century terms of neutrality: the adaptation of an organism to an environment. Successful adaptation comes by means of cooperation and not by competition.[8B]

Bronowski looks at the "evolution of complexity" and develops the model of "stratified stability"[9C] which states that evolution proceeds from

[p. 89-C]

A, B, C, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91-A]

TONGAN CONSUMER PRICE INDEX:
September 1969 to December 1975
[Figure 2.]

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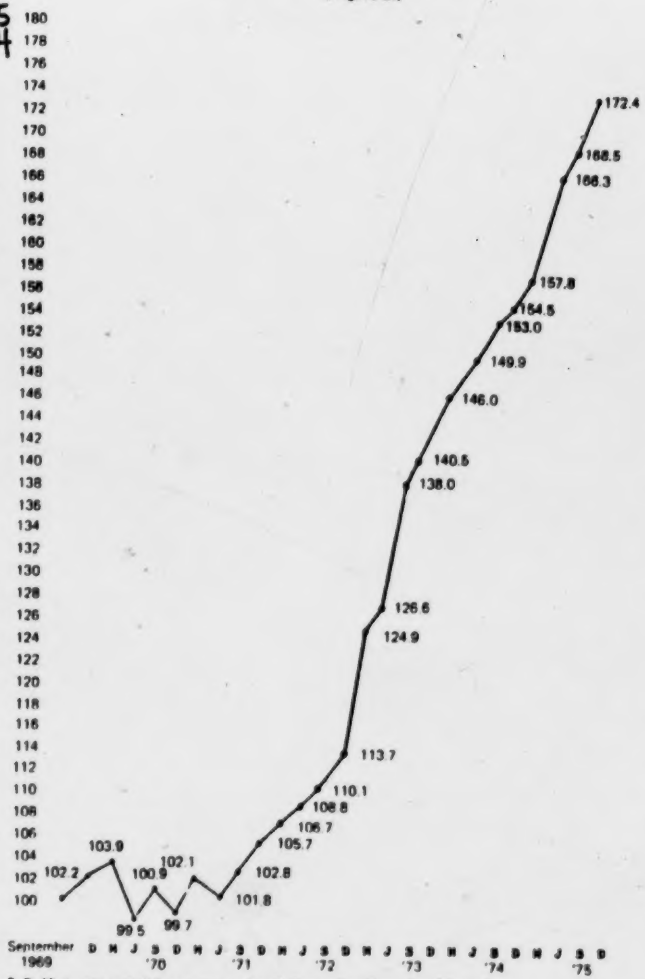

S, D, M, J the end of the quarter, ending in September, December, March, June
SOURCE Kingdom of Tonga Publications (1970-1976)

167 464 179 241 [435] 871 464 [645]

simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A A

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B A

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As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] C A (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

[439]

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the

[593] [586]

overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D A

[648]

Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] E A While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

179 464 457

The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F A

457 434

Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]
A A A A A A

459 434 because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

Not only must the industrial sector of the 179 744 457 [164] economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

179 Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, 179 have been suggested.17A Planned overseas aid from New 648 Zealand in the amount of $NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.18A Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga [439] joined the European Economic Community as an associate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices [435] of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa! Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.19C

315 Oil may prove another source of foreign 648 exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

[p. 92-A]

A,B,C [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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121 457 examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

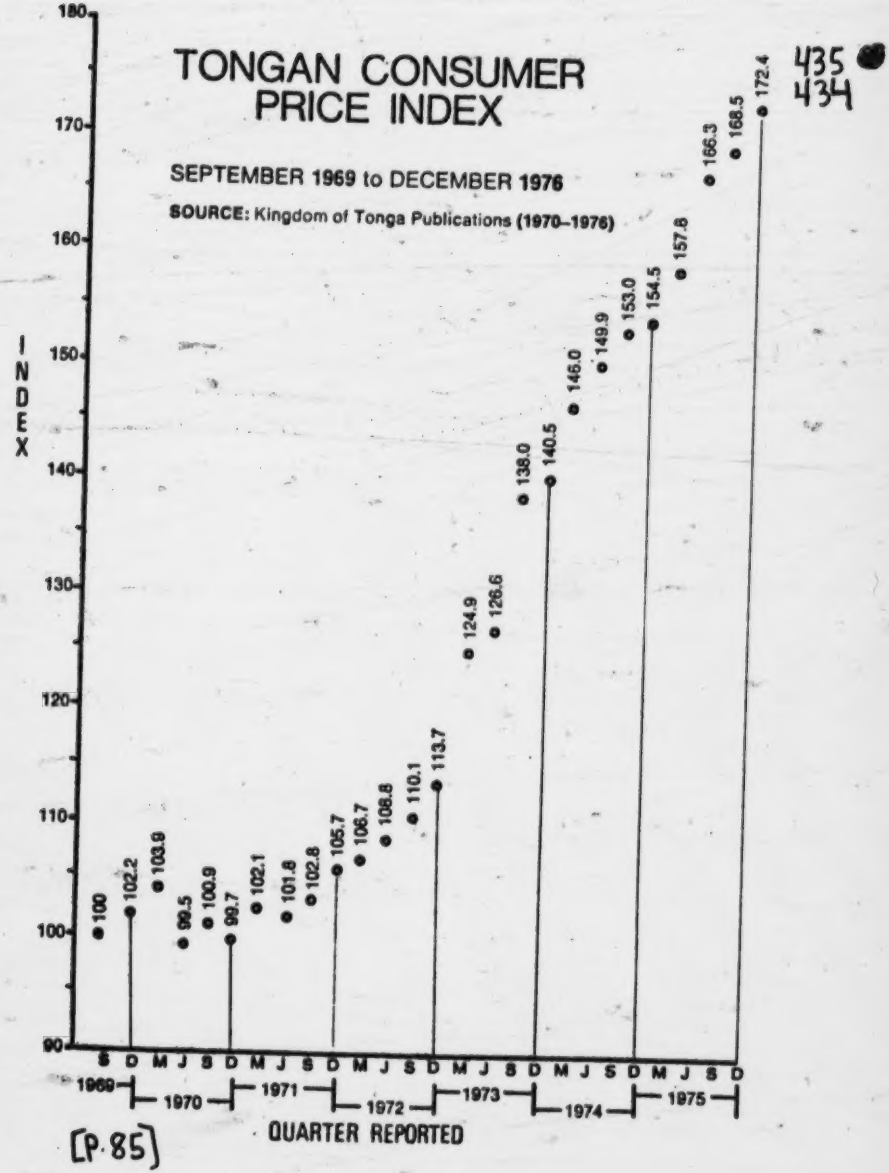
433 Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer 433 439 [197] demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high 146 food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973 that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which became fatalities.

458 Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years, as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with 435 a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a "typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2 percent from December 1972-March 1973, this same sub-group of basic staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour, and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

464 Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of [882] sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for [423] crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around. The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in 1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

Figure 1



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[P.85]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

not know enough of their own culture and history (or at least the aspects of touristic interest), so the TVB published a pamphlet for local distribution to remedy this particular complaint. The government has also built small airstrips to encourage tourist travel to outlying islands and has allocated substantial sums of money for hotel expansion and construction. With the help of overseas (primarily Australian) backing, new hotels have been recently constructed on Tongatapu and Vava'u. Japanese companies have also expressed an interest in joint investment with the Tongan government. In facilities that would serve the public and *especially* entice the now almost nonexistent Japanese traveler to Tonga. With Japan in mind, the Tongan monarch traveled to Japan, exchange clubs have been established. Tongans have been encouraged to visit Japan. Late in 1976 the Japan/Tonga Friendship Fellowship opened a us$35,000 resort clubhouse in Tonga, in an effort to develop growing contacts and increase guests to Tonga. His Majesty also visited Hawaii in late 1976 to assess the role of tourism, as well as the role of Tongans in tourism at the Polynesian Cultural Center (see chapter 14).

Tourism, however, increases the economic problems—especially the need for additional imported foodstuffs. Air passengers, for whom facilities are largely being constructed, have to be fed, and although many enjoy the local fruits and bread (made from the imported flour), few would be content for long on the relatively bland Tongan diet of yams, taro, and fruit. Tongans are, in effect, competing with the tourists for the imported foods. The ever-increasing quantities of food that must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists contributes to the steadily rising CPI. A similar situation prevails in Fiji, as Ward (1976, p. 171) notes:

> Some [Fiji] hotels, in the interest of greater economy and convenience, only provide a strictly limited choice of meals and the sort of meals which tourists expect to receive in their home countries, e.g. of the steak-hamburger-mixed grill variety. Many hotels argue that this is all the tourist wants although the best hotels do provide more extensive menus. The majority [of hotels, however] do provide the food which is produced and consumed by the local inhabitants and this compounds the problem of buying requirements from domestic producers.

Ward also states that despite the availability of many local foodstuffs tourists might consume, hotels in Fiji prefer to purchase their requirements overseas because, it has been argued, "they can only then be assured of continuity in supplies and of a consistent high standard of quality."

Tourism has grown rapidly in Tonga, but it could evaporate just as quickly. Tongans occasionally have experienced situations when the anticipated tourists failed to arrive. In 1972, at least forty tour groups cancelled their planned air visits to Tongatapu because the tour operators

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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457 177 Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

457 177 535 Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

457 178 It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

[935] [548] [838] [435] Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

457 434 527 273 The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals [276] [178] begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own 457 273

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

second voyage Journal. 'They have ... a curious apron, made of the out side fibres of the Cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half Moons, little squars, etc., and studed with beads of shells and covered with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1961: 272). The Pitt Rivers example (plate 2c, 66 cm. × 66 cm.) is made of star-shaped elements, each having a central section and 10 or 11 points. This item was described by George Forster: 'we likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells' (1777: 1, 454). One element is decorated with a pig tooth and the thirty-five elements are attached to a waistband that is unravelled at one end. An examination of Forster's account tells us why.

> We accidentally procured a quantity of these feathers at Amsterdam, one of the Friendly Isles, where they fastened them on pieces of their stuffs. These being carried to O-Taheitee, and shared out in little pieces, procured us a great number of hogs; for a bit of two inches square, covered with feathers, would at any time, be eagerly purchased with a hog (1778: 207); when we came the second time in 1774, to O-Taheitee after we had been to Tonga Tabu, where the natives make various ornaments of red feathers, we procured for them not only numbers of hogs, the most valuable article of trade, but likewise mourning dresses, which the natives refused to part with before, when Mr Banks was there, and during our first stay in their happy isle. The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles (1778: 367).

These aprons are known in Tongan traditions as *sisi fale*, and were worn only by high chiefs. Parts of at least twenty specimens of *sisi fale* have so far been recorded in museum collections. The usual elements are stars, rectangles, lozenges, crescents, and ovals—the elements and their combinations being quite distinctive. An interesting example of secondary use of a Tongan *sisi fale* by Tahitians is that two elements were used to decorate one of their human images which is now in the British Museum (TAH. 63). These two elements—now mostly denuded of their red feathers—are used for a head covering and a loincloth. It is possible that the element that forms the loincloth of the image is part of the *sisi fale* now in the Pitt Rivers Museum and perhaps traded to the Tahitians by Forster. Unfortunately, the British Museum specimen does not have any accession or collection information. It is interesting to speculate that perhaps Cook collected it himself on his third voyage. The half of the *sisi fale* in the Pitt Rivers Museum is probably what was left after Forster shared out two inch squares to the Tahitians, perhaps for the very Tahitian mourning dress in the Pitt Rivers Museum.

Two parts of another *sisi fale* from Cook's voyages exist in Vienna and Florence. Both of these seem to have come from the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806, and probably originally came from Cook's third voyage. Another *sisi fale* that can quite confidently be identified is in the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Unfortunately, again there is no collection or accession information, but I suspect that it is the one depicted in Labillardière (1802: 32), and thus collected on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage in 1793. Only the Pitt Rivers *sisi fale*, however, can be traced to Cook's second voyage—probably for several reasons: the chiefs interacted with during the second voyage were not the highest ones; Cook was not present during

A [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the *sisi fale* are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, is said to represent an '*akau ha'ano*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23 ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure.

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

342 verandah, with a well-nurtured flower
351 garden at the front and a large stretch of smooth lawn at the back, edged with laden banana trees and other useful sources of food and shade.

575 The *Langa Fonua* House was bought
462 in September, 1957, for £4,500, the
[342] money and Tongan furnishings (mats,
[435] etc.) being collected throughout the Kingdom by women's groups. It is used for general and committee meetings and for a series of valuable classes
575 in cookery, sewing, child welfare, first
462 aid, English and Tongan. These classes
873 are attended by members of *Langa Fonua* from Tongatapu villages and are taught by volunteer instructors, both
[342] Tongan and European. It is a dignified yet functional house, preserving in its family furnishings the quality of a lived-in home.

Five-Day Courses For Women Leaders

575 It was in this house that three five-day
462 courses were conducted by Miss June
873 Summerton of the South Pacific Health
648 Service and myself, and in its spacious living rooms that we ate and slept and had our office.

574 We were cared for with that all-inclusive, thoughtful, unobtrusive and capacious hospitality for which Tonga is famous, delicacies or extra equipment frequently appearing from the Palace.

Receptions, dinners, cocktail parties and above all feasts and a gay and totally unsuspected surprise party organised by Princess Melenaite with the

[P.26-D] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27-B]

/19 cont./

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434 brought him a profit of ₤T 75 (about 700 German marks).

In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
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594 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them; the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

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177 European influence has been able to change but little their general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
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177 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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437

11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.
181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

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435 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco for their money; in the Ha'apai group the Tongans who start businesses on their island "forget" the price of individual goods, which are then often sold for considerably less than on the main island.

181 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and
177 hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with
439 Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems noteworthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently undiminished. (13)

[113] 13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel. vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States exploring expedition /cited in English/. vol. III. London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879. p. 287.

181 The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally,
522 boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a fleeting smile may by noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European
[831] demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/129 cont./

342 178 177 184 forms a unit with the European building material. However, the ancient Tongan shape still holds its own, as the following list can show more clearly:

Village	Long houses with rounded narrow sides	Rectangular houses
Haveluloto/Tongatapu	26	18
'O'ua (Ha'apai)	27	9
'Uiha/'Uiha (Ha-apai)	110	33
Pangai/Lifuka (Ha'apai)	139	144
Fungamisi/Vava'u	27	28
Tu'anuku/Vava'u	37	40

The settlements of 'O'ua and 'Uiha which are unfavorably located with respect to transport facilities have a considerably preponderance of of houses of ancient Tongan shape. A further Europeanization of the Archipelago could bring about a similar proportion as in the other four villages. However, this development will be relatively slow; for even in the seaport of Pangai and in the villages of Haveluloto and Fungamisi which are near larger seaports, (353)

353. European-type constructions are, of course, most numerously represented in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

a great many natives cling to the old house shape--for financial and traditional reasons. The prices for corrugated sheet metal and building timber have risen very much; A Tongan must put aside the considerable sum of approximately 300 - 400 £T . (= approximately 2800 -

342 177 178 435

/129 cont./

342 178 179 (435) [183] 3750 German marks) to build a European-style house with a small veranda. For most of the natives this is a goal worth striving for; there are only a few today who, for their pleasure in the traditional, will build themselves a "typical Tongan house" with great care and without using nails. Many have "modernized" the old type with the new building material. Since a coconut-leaf roof quickly rots under the climatic conditions, and must be renewed every two or three years, people still try to provide themselves, for example, with corrugated metal to cover their roofs, just as they like to cover the walls of their houses with /130/ it or, even better, with boards. At the same time they do not simplify the ground plan by straightening the narrow sides, but go to great trouble to construct the traditional house shape with the rounded ends by using bulky pieces of corrugated metal and wooden boards. In a house covered with corrugated metal it can be quite uncomfortable under the hot sun, especially if the owner has not shaded the roof with a cover of tapa or wooden boards; in this way, some natives have developed heart trouble, for example. However, the Tongans would rather suffer under such discomforts and know that they are thereby relieved of house-building worries for many years. These "modernized" Tongan houses, as well as the European-type rectangular constructions (of corrugated metal and wood) with or without veranda, regarded by the natives as something special and as the "better dwelling," are usually lived in, after they are finished, until they collapse. Damaged parts of walls and roof are seldom repaired, and almost never are they given a new coat of paint, although paint is available in the Archipelago. The weatherbeaten, gray, rusting, and, in part, collapsing buildings resemble those of the slums on the outskirts of some European cities. Yet the oldest of these houses are today at least 50 years old (thanks to the very good material that was still provided

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/133 cont./

342 178 (164) floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton (more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, partitioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both round ends) as the sleeping quarters. The European-like constructions (177) of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc. (435) This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside. Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa or cotton.

344 178 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today 346 177 178 above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses. (361)

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings.

343 178 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today, many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

331 /137 cont./
342 ists. In 15 cases the owner of the property was his own builder, in
463 seven cases relatives, friends or villagers built the house for him. Of these structures, 19 were built after 1940.

In rare cases were houses built by builders of "laymen" alone.
[465] Usually as many as eleven helpers worked together, whose work was remunerated only with food.

342 The cost of materials for all houses (ancient Tongan ground plan)
435 range from 0 (only native material, or donated old corrugated metal and building timber) to 70£ T. (new corrugated sheet metal, building timber, nails).

342 /138/ In the same town, the same year, 19 European-type dwellings
463 were carefully examined. Of these, one was built about 50 years ago by
331 a white man, 15 were erected by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such), and three structures were put up by natives who were not specialists, for their own use (some 50 years ago). Here
[465] too the work of the builders was largely acknowledged only with food. In two cases (1908 and 1943) the builders were paid with mats and tapa and in three cases (1910, 1951, 1951) with money (6 - 10£ T.). The helpers involved (1-8) each received only food. The cost of material
[435] for these buildings runs between 20£ T. (material bought secondhand) and 400£ T. (good material, medium-sized house).

Corresponding surveys in the same year in Fungamisi/Vavaʻu showed:

[465] Of 24 carefully examined dwellings with ancient Tongan ground plan, only five were erected by house-builders (or by Tongan regarded as house-builders); four of these were self-built, in the fifth case the work was acknowledged only with food. The remaining 19 houses were put up by Tongans who are not specialists; in 18 cases the natives built for themselves, in one case a son coming from another

331 /138 cont./
342 village built a house for his mother. Fourteen of these "laymen"
463 buildings were put up after 1940. The builders or "laymen" seldom
[602] worked alone. In most cases they had up to five helpers (often
[465] relatives) whose work was acknowledged only with food. In many cases
[435] there was no outlay for building material, since the builders limited themselves to native raw materials or were given only corrugated metal and building timber; for the rest of the buildings, up to 12 ₤T. was spent for corrugated metal, building timber and nails.

331 342 Of 16 European-type houses examined at the same time, 11 were
177 built by Tongans who are house-builders (or regarded as such). The
463 work of the builders (some of whom were relatives) was acknowledged
[602] only with food, except in two cases; one was given building material
[465] (wood), the other was given money. Five houses were built by non-specialist natives for themselves.--Altogether, two houses were built individually. For the rest of the 14 structures, 2 to 20 helpers were
[465] co-workers. Their work was here too acknowledged only with food while they were building, except for one case in which money was given. For
[435] building material--aside from gifts--between 20 ₤T. (old material) and 1000 ₤T. (good material, very large house) was spent.

342 These investigations can give us various clues. We realize that most Tongans are apparently still capable of building by themselves (Fungamisi example) a simple dwelling (ancient Tongan ground plan).
[463] However, as a result of the "liberation" of the people, the house-
[331] building specialists, of whom there were some even in ancient Tonga, seem to have obtained a greater range of work insofar as many commoners
342 depend on them for help (as did many chiefs in former times). The
178 wish to have a well-built house in ancient Tongan style is considerably greater, according to the figures quoted above, in a more remote village like 'Uiha than in a settlement near a harbor, like Fungamisi

/139/

342 198 where, considering the buildings in the seaport of Neiafu, the old-style Tongan houses may be regarded as mostly self-built makeshifts in a light construction. (367)

367. See p. 193.

342 197 463 The dissemination of "European-type construction" (wood-corrugated metal-rectangular buildings) need not necessarily--on the basis of the aforementioned figures--lead to an increase in house-building specialization; some skillful Tongans, even as "laymen," know how to build such types of houses. (368)

368. All European-style houses are, incidentally, today built by Tongans without guidance by whites. The natives can also build a European shed on concrete bases and even know how to make concrete tiles by themselves (from the necessary imported material).

(333)

342 436 463 465 331 Moreover, we learn that money which circulates rather freely in the Archipelago has heretofore played no great role in the employment of house-builders. The efforts of specialists and helpers are mainly acknowledged, in the old way, simply with good food (earth oven) during the building. (369)

369. Even in the "modern" work of erecting European-style structures.

342 435 198 The building material for the construction of a house with the ancient Tongan ground plan and coconut-palm covering can still, as in old times, be procured without financial expenditure, so that the entire process can be carried through without an outlay of cash, (370)

370. If the "owner" does not have enough pigs and products from his plantation at his disposal, he will of course have an indirect cash outlay in buying flour, sugar, corned beef, etc., in order to feed the builders.

and only with the cost of good food for all workers; this applies to a remote settlement ('Uiha) as well as to a village near a seaport (Fungamisi).

/202 cont./

245 [462] [857] [887] The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men. However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially in the easier tasks.

245 258 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the [435] Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 425 245 656 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527) must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations, either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about

527. See pp. 172-173.

245 433

/203 cont./

245 the same throughout the year, since the months in which more nuts fall
433 (summer) they are usually not all gathered, whereas in the periods of rather more scarcity (winter and the dry seasons) the natives seem
245 concerned about every nut. On a plantation of 8½ acres an average of
433 approximately two tons of copra may be produced in a year; since the
434 price paid by the Copra Board for A-quality was, for example, 62 £T.
[435] per ton in 1952, the owner of such a plantation was able to earn about 124 £T. (or about 1170 German marks) that year for his copra, if he delivered the best quality. The plantations that are available to individual families, however, differ in size, (528)

528. See p. 173 ff.

so that the profit in terms of money from copra production fluctuates very much among individual households, and at present amounts to perhaps 30 and 300 £T. annually. (529)

529. In 1952 in the Vava'u group, for instance, every household made an average of 170 £T.

245 Moreover, the price of copra constantly rises and falls on the world
435 market, (530)
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530. Before the second World War the price paid for one ton of copra in Tonga dropped to 4 £T.

so that the Tongans, with their heavy dependence on copra production as their most important source of money, have experienced "rich" and "poor" periods during the past decades. Nonetheless, with the money
439 they receive for their copra production the natives are able to buy
177 various imported goods which contribute in some respects to a change
511 in their material culture as compared with the past. Most of these goods are not vitally necessary for the islanders, for today all Tongans can still support themselves solely by means of their agriculture (along with their fishing and domestic-animal raising). Since the quantities of bark cloth and mats that were made in the

/231 cont./

505

607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

[501] the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitaznts) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800 £ T. (about 7320 German marks).

[435]

[396] [177] [422] [471] These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported material. They are the property of one person or of several who formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

[501] In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans(609)

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put
501 up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between
505 islands lying close together, (615).

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances, as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951, traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor, as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 824 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango (Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to [438] [435] "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them; on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 £T. (breadfruit tree wood) to 15 £T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 [465] The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who may receive, for examply, 2 £T. or a horse) does the work. Often the [476] men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father, son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping. [462] Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 412 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also

/241 cont./

472 grandfather, also started a trucking service on Lifuka with a truck that he bought secondhand for 300£T. He makes trips day after day, (434) at any time, and earns more than 100£T a month. During the free time left to him he works on his new European frame house (with corrugated metal roof). Its furnishings consist of a table, a small bench, a chair, a plank bed, a few mats and a number of oil cans, as well as parts for his car. He also owns a large radio that he had sent from Australia for 55£T. St., who impresses one as being restless, nervous (157) and driven, and who is apparently overworked, says that he is trying to earn lots of money in order to give his children a good education (perhaps in Australia or New Zealand).

472 The Tongan V.F. (in Pangai, Lifuka) works his plantation, but 275 has in addition discovered a unique possibility of making money: he buys lemon extract and sugar at the shopkeeper's, his wife makes drinks from these and he sells them soda fountain style to his countrymen. To do this he sets himself up in the shed of the Copra Board in Pangai where there is a great deal of traffic and where the air is hot (435) and dry. He charges sixpence for a glass of lemonade. On "good" days, (434) that is, when it is particularly hot, he earns 5 to 8£T. V.F. well remembers his "best" day, December 31, 1951, on which he took in 13£T. With the money he defrays all special expenses of his family. Yet he (454) lives in a simple house of ancient Tongan style and is saving a great deal of money because he wants to assure his sons of a "good future" (education).

472 To this category of people engaged in trade (that is, people carrying on independent activities purely for economic gain) belong especially the storekeepers (who procure goods in the chief towns and sell them on the islands); likewise to be classed in this category are individual Tongans and cooperatives that own sailboats and make

/243 cont./

000 pineapples.

436 178 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/ [425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service"; [437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor [435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 432 436 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches, tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools, to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received 20 £T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15 £T. worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and 436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money [197] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations 425 426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing, 436 178 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom, from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands-- there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a 426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed 436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to 178

245 retards the growth and development of the plant, and terminates fruit production.

[136] Banana scab moth, most destructive during its larval stage, may cause damage ranging from simple fruit discoloration to total [242] destruction (Plate 4, p. 74). DDT, which is frequently used to combat scab moth, has been ineffective in annihilating the pest.

241 The combined effect of these three diseases have reduced 245 internationally marketable banana production by nearly 1.5 million [433] dollars, representing approximately 30 percent of total agricultural [439] export production since 1967. Farmers are increasingly hesitant to initiate large scale banana production, unless guaranteed assistance in combating disease and plant destruction.

245 Survey interviews also attributed decreasing banana produc- 505 tion to inadequate shipping facilities. Frequently, harvested bananas are placed on a dock to await the arrival of transport 245 vessels destined for overseas markets. During this time, the fruit 439 becomes over-ripe, falling below export quality. As a consequence, [435] fruit originally priced up to $1.90 per case may be sold for as little as 40 cents. Because of this potential low cash return, 245 many interviewed farmers stated that large scale banana production was an unwise economic risk.

244 Commercial production of melons, especially watermelons, is also hindered by the inadequate scheduling of transport facilities to [505] overseas markets. Melons are also produced for Tongan markets, but [438] frequently earn only low prices, even when out of season.
[435] A [Because of poor quality of original reproductions, plates have not been marked for a Category--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 for plant nutrients and soil moisture, but also hinders collection
245 of nuts (Maude 1970, p. 60). Similarly, planted food crops also
[435] compete for soil nutrients, and none of the interviewed farmers reported using significant amounts of fertilizer, owing to rapid price increases. Only when coconut production is profitable enough to pay for increased fertilization is interplanting of significant value.

In addition, when interplanting is practiced, the potential for the reduction of both coconut and subsistence crop yields exists, due to competition for moisture, shading, and damage to the root system of the coconut. Maude concluded that there is, as yet, no satisfactory integration between the bush fallow food cropping system and the coconut plantation (Maude 1970, p. 60). Therefore, as the development of cash cropping continues, through enforcement of palm cultivation laws or simply the farmer's desire to insure a larger cash income, a significant alteration of Tongan agricultural society will emerge.

245 The increased planting of palms since 1965, initiation by the Coconut Replanting Scheme, has brought about an increase in the cash
241 income of Tongan landholders. However, owing to the incompatibility
262 of bush fallow and plantation cultivation, the landowners' production of foodstuff for home use is increasingly curtailed. As a result, the increase in cash income is frequently used entirely in the purchase of food from village or urban markets. The dietary and nutritional implications of this alteration will be discussed in the following chapters.

245 As coconut palm cultivation increases toward the point of monoculture, the potential for destruction of croppings by pests [136] also increases. Two such pests are of particular significance in Tonga--rats and the rhinoceros beetle. Rats, alone, account for a loss of approximately 20 percent of the total coconut crop, annually. Fallow vegetation, which is left growing around planted palms, provides an excellent habitat for rats, and is conducive to rat breeding. Despite efforts by the Ministry of Agriculture to encourage farmers to reduce this cover, Tongan farmers continue to be uncooperative. Damage to young nuts is mot frequent, and occasionally a palm will lose its entire crop to this type of destruction. Plate 5 (p. 81) illustrates coconuts which have been destroyed by rats. The most reliable identification of rat damage is a hole gnawed through the coconut husk.

There are two procedures which have been proven to be effective in preventing, or at least curtailing, rat destruction. The removal of cover vegetation effectively discourages large numbers of [414] rats from living in close proximity to the palms. Secondly, fastening metal or plastic strips around the trunk of a palm prevents rats from climbing to the nuts. (This technique is most effective on palm trunks perpendicular to the ground, as opposed to those which lean to any excess.) Agricultural specialists in Tonga reported the use of metal strips to be the most effective method of combating rat damage (Hougland 1974). However, of the farmers interviewed, less [439] than one percent used this technique. Although the strips are cheap (8 to 15 cents apiece) and some varieties are guaranteed to last the

[Because of poor quality of original reproduction, plate has not been marked for a Categcry--Analyst.]

245 life of the palm, the initial cash outlay deters increased usage. [435] Farmers believe that the initial outlay of 8 to 15 dollars per hundred palms is excessive, and do not understand the concept of long-term investment. Agricultural extension workers claim that a more realistic reason for insufficient use of the strips is laziness of the Tongan farmer. Only the Mormon plantation and two 'apis were observed to be using the preventive strips. Plate 6A illustrates the simplicity of the procedure.

245 136 Another pest destructive to coconut production in Tonga is the rhinoceros beetle. This beetle has only recently become a major threat, and was largely unknown in the islands, until the 1950s and 245 1960s. Plate 7B illustrates the characteristic angular leaf damage inflicted on the palm by this insect, which reduces the photosynthetic area of the plant, and subsequently the production potential of the palm. [136] The most frequently noted method of control consists of a mound of sawdust into which are placed the eggs or larva of one of several predator insects, usually mites or click beetle (Plate 8)C Sawdust is a favorable breeding ground for the predator insects, as well as for the rhinoceros beetle, which is attracted to the sawdust pile. Subsequently, the larva of the mite or click beetle destroys the rhinoceros larva, with up to 100 percent efficiency. Despite the effectiveness of this technique, it is not extensively used within the Kingdom. The procedure was observed being used most frequently in Vava'u, only occasionally in Ha'apai, and not at all in Tongatapu.

A,B,C [Because of poor quality of original reproductions, plates have not been marked for a Category--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8B]

241 Survey information covering the 1973-74 cropping year indica-
242 ted only scattered and infrequent use of any type of pest control by Tongan farmers. Only 25 percent of those farmers surveyed used
[654] spray or dust pesticide of some type. Most often this was DDT, supplied by the Tongan Department of Agriculture. Application of this was usually concerned with combating the scab moth for banana production. The expansion of cash cropping, whether in plantation or bush fallow production, is significantly limited by this lack of pest control.

Food cropping for home use, mainly tuber production, does not notably suffer from pest destruction, with soil fertility depletion being the major cause of reduced yields. Fertilizer is beyond
[435] the economic means of the typical Tongan farmer. The cost of basic
[654] fertilizer, such as urea, increased from $120 to $220 per ton in 1973-74 (Hougland 1974). Of the total survey sample of farmers cultivating land, only two percent used any kind of fertilizer, and it usually was supplied by the Tongan Agricultural Department. More readily available sources of fertilizer, such as green manuring or the spreading of animal manure, are untraditional in Tongan farming and, therefore, unfamiliar and unused. The bush fallow system remains the major technique employed in Tonga to increase soil fertility.

241 In the bush fallow system, a given plot undergoes a cropping cycle of up to seven years. Declining yields during this period make continued cultivation unprofitable, and the garden area is shifted
241 to another portion of the 'api. Nitrogen depletion appears to be
134 the major cause for crop yield reduction. Maude (1965) reported no

231 Being a scavenger, the pig is generally allowed to roam unrestrained, although laws prohibit the animal from being untended in major urban areas of each island group. However, enforcement of these laws appeared to be quite lax. Roaming animals were frequently noted on the periphery of the main business sections of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, as well as entering and leaving the royal grounds in Nuku'alofa. In villages, pigs are occasionally confined to prevent crop destruction. However, it was observed that confined pigs appear less healthy than those left unrestrained. This is probably the result of poor environmental management, plus the disruption of scavenging.

Seventy percent of those surveyed owned some variety of fowl, with chickens being the most frequent. Fowl, which represent the third scavenger in Tongan agriculture, are seldom confined. [262] Their major food function is the provision of meat, since eggs are [438] seldom collected. The sale of eggs was noted only infrequently, and [435] at a price prohibitive to the typical Tongan. A single egg may sell for as much as 13 cents. Most eggs are left undisturbed to hatch, although more than half of any given brood dies from dampness or destruction by other animals. Thus, lack of management successfully eliminates the utilization of eggs as a food source, plus severely reduces the number of fowl available for consumption.

To summarize, livestock ownership remains largely a matter of status, often exemplifying more value as a product of social exchange than as a source of food. The maintenance of stock is

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

439 Bananas are Tonga's second most important cash crop for the
245 international market, although exports and capital earned by this crop have decreased significantly since 1967 (Table 18, p. 103, A and Table 19, below). Tongatapu is the principal producer, with
439 Vava'u being second. Banana exports represented 45 percent of the value of total exports in 1967, but by 1973, equaled less than 15 percent. While this percentage has continued to decline, the
245 market price for banana produce has generally risen. Owing to this
439 rise in price, many farmers expressed a willingness to produce bananas, providing governmental assistance was received in combating
245 crop disease. (As mentioned previously, the principal reason for

439 TABLE 19.--Tongan Banana Exports and Their FOB Values.

435

Export Year	Total Quantity of Export (thousands of lbs.)	Total Revenue Earned by Banana Exports
1965	22,708 lb. at 4.1¢ a lb.	$ 941,222
1966	31,883 lb. at 4.2¢ a lb.	1,337,554
1967	43,949 lb. at 4.1¢ a lb.	1,794,000
1968	37,674 lb. at 4.6¢ a lb.	1,738,679
1969	15,147 lb. at 4.5¢ a lb.	683,440
1970	10,268 lb. at 4.5¢ a lb.	465,950
1971	7,706 lb. at 4.8¢ a lb.	368,970
1972	6,743 lb. at 4.8¢ a lb.	327,914
1973	6,272 lb. at 4.8¢ a lb.	302,400

SOURCE: "Banana Exports Have Declined Sharply," Tonga Chronicle, August 8, 1974.

A [See Category 439--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

decreasing production of bananas is the spread of black leaf streak, bunchy top and scab moth.)

Marketing of banana produce, through the Tonga Produce Board, is often difficult because of improper scheduling of shipping facilities and the subsequent sale of under or overripe fruit. In one example, 9,000 cases of produce became overripe while in wharfage awaiting shipment, resulting in the fruit being sold for 40 cents per case (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1973, p. 5). The bulk of banana produce is shippped to New Zealand, although the shipping difficulties and quality control remain obstacles to full entry into this market. These same problems with marketing, shipping and quality have been effective in removing many Tongan farmers from banana production. At present, the Produce Board reports that export levels are so low that levies are not sufficient to provide a comprehensive service to growers in such areas as disease control ("Banana Exports . . ." 1974, p. 5).

In addition to the exportation of bananas, coconut, and miscellaneous melons, fruits and vegetables to international markets, small quantities of produce are also traded among the islands, the most important of these transfers being from 'Eua to Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu, and from Nuku'alofa to Pangai and Neiafu. This movement involves not only domestic produce, but also food imports such as tinned meats, sugar, flour and a wide range of foodstuffs sold through the local stores (fale koloa).

Large quantities of produce are also marketed domestically. Although some produce is sold in several smaller settlements, the

largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups, although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize. Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land, such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, represent one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan population, this group does contribute a significant cash input to the local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday) and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individuals having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items, such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Marketing hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers, revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per month.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

125 The information acquired for the household frequency of consumption record usually consisted of rough approximations. However, several important aspects became evident during the rural to 263 urban comparison. For example, household usage of sugar was found to be as high as 3.31 pounds per person per week in Nuku'alofa, although the average for the entire urban sample was 1.18. On the other hand, rural consumption of sugar averaged only .57 pounds per 262 week. Cereal products, including bread and flour, are also used in greater quantities in Nuku'alofa than in rural areas.[1]

[272] The consumption of soft drinks, alcoholic products, and [273] cassava significantly increased in the urban areas, while the consumption of yams decreased. In the case of tubers, this fact most [435] probably reflects economic forces which dictate that a basket of cassava cost T$.80, while a basket of yams sells of T$10-12.[2]

A higher rate of consumption of canned meat products was also observed in the urban area, although this product is widely used throughout Tonga--a probable reflection of its ease of distri- 125 bution, storage and social status. A purchase of two samples of 146 the most commonly used canned meat, and a subsequent proximal

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[443] [438] [1]This data may have been influenced by the distribution of such products over the islands. Surveys of stores in rural villages indicated that often sugar, flour and bread were not in stock. At times, the entire Kingdom is devoid of such basic commodities as sugar or flour. In one such incidence, over two weeks elapsed before a new shipment arrived from overseas sources, during which the entire nation lacked sugar. However, even with consideration being given to these influences, a significant variation between rural and urban consumption is evident.

[2]Prices acquired in the Nuku'alofa market, October, 1974.

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analysis of these samples revealed that in each case, quality was below suggested standards in content of protein, fat, carbohydrate and moisture (Table 21). This was especially true of the sample of K. & R. Corned Meat Loaf. This product is frequently consumed in Tonga, a probable reflection of its lower cost. Price surveys indicated that this meat loaf sold for approximately T$.30-.35, while the other canned meat sample analyzed sold for T$.75-.85.[1]

Fresh beef from Australia and mutton from New Zealand are also consumed in greater quantities in urban Tonga. Analysis of random samples purchased in Nuku'alofa showed the surface fat of beef imports to be in excess of 73 percent of total product weight. Similarly, mutton samples not only evidenced a high fat content but were also greatly weighted by bone.[2]

On the other hand, individuals residing in rural areas consume more fresh meats such as pork, poultry, and fish (although fresh and canned fish are popular throughout the Kingdom), plus a greater variety of tubers. Yams, sweet potatoes, and taro retain their important traditional role in the Tongan diet within the rural

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[1] The results of the analysis of both products, which are imported from Australia, emphasize the fact that the Tongan government, despite recommendations by members of medical professions and church groups, refrains from monitoring the quality of products imported into Tonga. This neglect is exploited by foreign commercial organizations as evidenced by the analysis of the above canned meats, in addition to imported fresh meat samples (Appendix C).

[2] The Tongan government recently announced plans for a refrigerated vehicle to transport fresh meat to rural Tongatapu. The value of such a scheme is questionable, considering the low quality of the products to be transported.

[See Category 125, p. 186-188--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tinned Mean Samples

125 Two samples of tinned meat were purchased in Tonga and subsequently analyzed upon completion of the data collection process. 125 The selection of the meat samples was based upon the criteria which 262 influence their consumption by the Tongan people: (1) availability 435 throughout the islands, determined during price surveys in village and urban shops; and (2) price, K. & R. brand Corned Meat Loaf being usually the cheapest of the tinned meat products of comparable variety. It appeared that the large-scale consumption of the meat loaf was based solely upon price as it was perceived to have the lowest prestige value of all tinned meats. Globe Corned Beef, the other tinned meat sample selected, enjoyed a much higher status ranking but had a medium price, making it more acceptable than products advertised to be better quality tinned beef products.

128 Each product was analyzed by proximal determination, which 125 supplied values for protein, fat, moisture and ash. Carbohydrate values were determined by the subtraction of the total values for protein, fat, ash and moisture from 100 percent. The Kjedahl-Total Nitrogen method as described by McKenzie was used to determine the protein content while fat content was discovered using the Soxhlet method (McKenzie and Murtphy 1970, p. 158). Moisture was determined by weighing a sample of the product, vacuum drying it at 100°F for 5 hours, and then reweighing it. Ash content determination called for charred samples being placed in a Muffle oven at 500°C for not less than 6 hours.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Two samples of each product were analyzed, as explained above, and the averages were calculated. The results were presented in Table 21.[1]

Fresh Meat Samples

Fresh meat samples imported from Australia and representative of available supplies found in Nuku'alofa were also purchased in four stores. Prices of the product varied from T.50 to .70 per pound. (At the time of purchase, October, 1974, U.S. $1.00 equaled T.63.) Small samples of the meat were weighed on a standard Welch balance. Surface fat was removed from each using an ordinary paring knife, followed by weighing. Next, samples were placed in boiling water for four minutes. Recognizing that much of the weight of the melted fat was replaced by water, attempts were made to thoroughly dry each sample over slow heat, prior to reweighing. Although this procedure is not the recommended methodology for fat determination of fresh meat samples, the results nonetheless provide a crude approximation of value. The results of this procedure are presented in Table 28.

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[1] A complete explanation of the procedures used in this analysis may be found by consulting the Official Methods of Analysis of the Association of Official Analytical Chemists 1970.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side being much worn away from continual beating. Although the sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot. As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, "Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, "Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 cerned; and thinking that by a rather decided answer I had got
609 rid of him, I again went on with my sketch.
[439] The natives had begun to assemble on the hill in considerable numbers, coming in troops from all quarters and gathering round the spot where the band was to play. The young women and
123 boys who had been crowding round me to see the sketch, now ran
609 off and joined the rest, all except my canoe friend, who still kept
439 hovering about, watching at a short distance until he should again catch my eye. There was now a fine chance, so he came up quite close, and looking me for a short time full in the face, with a most absurd, half-dejected, half-laughing expression, said, in an abstracted manner, and as if addressing no one in particular,
[435] "O, it is a beautiful canoe, mine." These continued interruptions became at last rather annoying, and as canoes could be obtained alongside for an old coat, I endeavoured to explain to my friend that his ideas were far too extravagant. He listened with an air of deferential attention until I had quite done, then said quietly, "You have not seen my canoe;" and warming with his subject, added energetically, "O it is beautiful!" After this, however distant he might be from the spot, he was sure to come and find me out whenever I landed, and haunt me with his "beautiful canoe." Often, when sketching in some retired part, where I hoped that for once I was safe from his persecution, I was sure to see my friend sitting somewhere among the trees, apparently quite unconscious of my presence, until he could quietly glide up and get near me without being perceived; and when close enough to be heard, he would make some observation in praise of his canoe.

Sinbad was never more tormented with the old man on his shoulders than I was with this provoking native and his eternal
[435] canoe. At last I was fairly beaten by his passive system, and finding his canoe really a good one, I gave him—not the five dollars exactly—but a whole wardrobe of old clothes, which pleased him quite as well.

123 In this digression about the canoe I had almost forgotten the band, which arrived in due time, the people all sitting down on the ground in the most orderly manner, and forming a great circle
[201] round it, the best places being given to the women. The music-stands having been set up, and all the preparations completed, a duet from Norma, the Old Hundredth, Drum Polka, Irish Quadrilles, and British Grenadiers, followed each other in rapid succession, the principal chiefs expressing their approval at each pause between the pieces by calling out Mālo māléeah!—Well done! sweet! adding, "go on again."

501 *June 21st.*—At daylight this morning, two large double canoes, decked over, and having houses upon them, were seen lying at